20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

MAGICAL BELIEFS AND PRACTICES AMONG THE GALICIAN UKRAINIANS[1]

PART I

The Black Art and its Representatives

771 To the inhabitants of the plains and plateaus and the majestic-
789 ally rising Carpathians of Southern Poland—the Galician Ukrainian—life in its manifold aspects is pervaded by a mul-

101 [1] The Galician Ukrainians, also known as Ruthenians, are Eastern Slavs, and constitute a branch of the numerous Ukrainian, or Little

771 titude of mysterious, evil forces which he endeavours either to
789 ally himself with, propitiate, or combat in order to assure himself of good luck or avert the many calamities which these supernatural powers may bring. Magical beliefs and practices are therefore widespread and deeply rooted among the people. Even where the church has opposed and tried to counteract the older notions and usages, its success has been at best only partial. What it often has effected was a change in form, or the substitution of an authorized rite for an ancient magical practice.[2] The priest, for example, sometimes takes the place of the sorcerer by holding a special midnight Mass, the *czorna służba* (black service), at the instigation of a person who wishes to harm an enemy.[3] At other times he acts as medicine man, e.g. by stepping over the back of an ailing parishioner in order to relieve his [342] backache.[4] A case of substitution is noticeable in the rite observed before moving into a newly constructed house. Wherever the old practices of sacrificing a black rooster, as an offering to the Devil or as a preventive against disease, has become extinct, its equivalent has appeared in the solemn consecration of the house by the priest.[5]

754 Among the Ukrainians, as elsewhere, magical beliefs and prac-
791 tices have two main aspects, which may be termed respectively
789 the black and white arts. While the former has its prime source in the arch enemy of man, the Devil, the latter, which functions mainly to counteract evil influences, relies on some powerful medium, sometimes God himself, to neutralize or overcome the

21 Russian, people inhabiting South Russia. They occupy the eastern section of the former Austrian province of Galicia, which is at present part of Poland. They number approximately 3,000,000 and belong almost exclusively to the peasant class. Geographically, and to a certain extent also culturally, they may be divided into lowlanders and highlanders, the former inhabiting the plains to the north and the latter the Carpathian mountains to the south.

[113] [2] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Rutenen in der Bukowina und Galizien," *Globus*, lxi, 282.

[3] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Kuzulen," *Globus*, lxxvi, 277.

[4] Kaindl, R. F. "Neue Beitraege zur Ethnologie und Volkskunde der Huzulen," *Globus*, lxix, 71.

[5] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 282.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

forces of evil. The agents of the former include the witch and the wizard; and those of the latter, the fortune-teller, the soothsayer, the conjuror, and, in cases of sickness, the healer. Between these two groups of "professional" intermediaries between the supernatural and natural worlds stands the ordinary non-professional man or woman, who, by using certain formulas or more concrete means, can also invoke superhuman intervention.

A person associated with powers of evil, though difficult or impossible to recognize by ordinary means, since he usually looks exactly like any other human being, can be singled out much more easily by his actions, and especially by the results he is supposed to obtain. Thus a successful person, it is thought, is necessarily allied in one way or another with the Devil, or his assistants. A man who has luck in hunting or fishing is undoubtedly in communication with the Devil.[6] A woman who repeatedly returns from the woods with her basket full of mushrooms, or whose cow continuously yields more than an average quantity of milk, is nothing but a witch who is using her unholy powers to her own profit and, usually, also the detriment of her neighbours.[7] Indeed, there is not a wealthy or successful person in the village or town who is not in league with the Devil.[8] A peasant, therefore, who has luck with his crops and cattle most likely receives help from evil spirits, and a manufacturer who makes money from his factory in town does so because he has demons to work for him.[9] Thus, although there exist special means of detection, which, as we shall see, are made use of when necessary, mere good fortune is the simplest criterion.

Among individuals occupied with the black art, the witch (*widma*) wields by far the greatest power.[10] Just as after death she becomes the most feared of evil spirits, so during her life she is considered the most dangerous of the Devil's disciples. The

[6] Kolberg, O. *Pokucie, Obraz Etnograficzny* (Kraków, 1882-89, 4 vols.), iii, 12.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 114. [8] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 229, 232.

[9] Onyščuk, A. "Materyaly do huculskoi demonologii," *Materyaly do Ukrainskoi Etnologii* (Lviw, 1909), xl, 73.

[10] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 280.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

754 people know, therefore, of no more derogatory term to apply to a woman than "witch."[11] In her ordinary life, the *widma* resembles other women in every respect; only in action does she take on a weird or unhuman aspect. Then she is found walking around in a totally nude state with her hair in disorder, carrying in her right hand a baking spatula or a broom and in her left a bucket filled with milk stolen from strange cows.[12] She may also appear in the form of a dog, mouse, cat, or other animal,[13] of a flashing, transparent ball rolling in the air,[14] or of sparks escaping from a chimney.[15]

The *widma* is not only a close ally of the Devil, but also a faithful servant ever ready to fulfil his commands. Besides the personal advantage which she derives from her destructive activities, she experiences a devilish pleasure in harming people, especially those whom she considers her enemies. Quiescent during the daytime, she begins her depredations only after 754 dusk (*pidweczer*).[16] Nobody in the house is aware of her ac- 774 tivities, for only her spirit leaves, her body remaining in a sleeping or dormant state. But if her spirit experiences any harm during its nightly excursions, the mark of the injury is registered simultaneously upon the motionless body at home.[17] Its activities finished, the spirit returns to the body, but can re-enter it only if it has remained in exactly the same position as it was left; otherwise the body cannot come to life again. It is enough to turn the body over to prevent the spirit from becoming re-united with it.[18] Thus during the Austro-Prussian war a soldier stayed overnight with a certain family. He became aware that the housewife was a witch and decided to play a trick on her. After her spirit had left, he turned the body over. Since, as a consequence, the spirit could not re-enter it, the woman was found lifeless when morning came. However, when the husband, thinking his wife dead, had summoned his neighbours and begun to make funeral preparations, the soldier

[11] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 280. [12] *Idem.* [13] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 131.
113
[14] Szuchiewicz, W. *Huculszczyzna* (Lwów, 1902-8, 4 vols.) iv, 283.
[15] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 231. [16] *Idem.*
[17] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 131 [18] *Ibid.*, pp. 130-31.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

admitted his guilt. The body was then put into its former position, and immediately thereupon it came to life.[19] 154 [194]

Witches form a well defined hierarchy in which four separate grades are distinguished. Those of the first and lowest rank are witches by birth. If a pregnant mother swallows a live coal that has fallen into a dish of food, especially one cooked on Christmas Eve, her child will be born a witch or a wizard, depending upon its sex. A witch of this type has a small tail, and begins her supernatural activities as soon as she grows up. Her association with the Devil having been established by birth rather than by voluntary choice, she is definitely less powerful than one who has acquired her prowess through her own effort. Next in rank and in power is the witch by training, i.e. one who had been trained in the art from earliest childhood by her mother, herself a witch. Some hold that such women also have tails, "but nobody can ever see them, for they succeed in hiding them even from their own husbands." Although higher in rank than the first type, the witch by training, not having chosen her career through her own volition, cannot compare in power to a witch of the third category, one who has allied herself voluntarily with the Devil in her ripe years. Of still greater potency is the witch who has grown up from a foundling girl placed by the Devil himself, through the *dîwe baby* (mysterious women), under the care of her foster parents. Within the hierarchy there is constant strife; witches of higher rank assert themselves to the detriment of their inferiors.[20] [177]

Every witch has her speciality, her own sphere of activity which she does not exceed. Thus there are witches of cows (*wid korow*), of sheep (*wid owec*), of goats (*wid kiz*), of ducks (*wid husij*), of swine (*wid swynyj*), etc. Each knows the limit of her power (*znaje wid sebe*), and permits no other, especially one of equal rank, to encroach upon her rights.[21]

The time of the witches' activities is the night, especially the three hours immediately following midnight. Although any night is appropriate, the most opportune times are the nights preceding important holidays, i.e. those before Christmas and Easter, and particularly the eves of SS. George, Onufri, and John,

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 130. [20] *Ibid.*, pp. 111-14. [21] *Ibid.*, pp. 114-15.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

754 which fall respectively on the twenty-third of April and the twelfth and twenty-fourth of June (Julian calendar).[22] On these special nights the witches usually foregather for sessions with the Devil on the *Lysa Hora* (Bald Mountain), an unapproachable crest in the Carpathians, thought by the people to be the rendezvous for all the witches in the world. Each witch rides to the meetings on the back of her own wizard, or else uses a baking spatula as her steed, urging it on with a broom. The sessions are devoted, first of all, to reports on the accomplishments and to the receiving of future instructions from the Devil, who presides. At these conferences, witches accused of exceeding the prescribed limits of their activities are formally tried, and those convicted are punished. Every witch must attend in person, or, if unable to do so, must send a substitute chosen from among the peasants. Such an individual, although present at the conference, hears nothing of what goes on, except what refers to himself, i.e. to the witch he represents.[23]

The fields of activity of the various witches embrace practically everything of concern to man, from personal affliction to bad luck with cattle and extremes in weather, and the means they employ are equally varied. They need only stare at a person, or animal, to harm him. Much more effective is their spoken work, their curse. Their favourite methods of causing injury, however, are those called " throwing under " (*pidsypuwaty*) and " putting under " (*pidložyty*). The former consists in scattering ashes or thorns on a path ; people or cattle traversing it will then be attacked by serious diseases . A witch may also wash her shirt before sunset and sprinkle the water on a path her victim is to use. This alternative method of " throwing under " causes sundry women's diseases. Similar consequences flow from " putting under," in which the witch puts part of a dead animal, usually a bat wrapped up in a cloth, under the doorstep of the victim. Other means used by witches include herbs gathered on St. John's Day, mercury, and the dried scales of snakes. Witches also have power to send bears and wolves to kill man and cattle. In order to cause famine they sell across the border grain which is in the process of ripening ; as a result the

[22] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 280. [23] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 109-10.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

country on the other side has plenty while there is starvation at home.[24] Witches are also held responsible for hails, storms, floods and drought.[25]

The commonest speciality of witches, however, is the bewitching or drying up of cows. The methods and means employed are many. Some believe that the *widma* simply milks the cow once in the usual way. Others assert that she takes some milk from the victimized cow, especially on the eve of St. George or St. John, and with it smears the teats of her own cow, which then gives milk in abundance while the udder of the bewitched animal dries up or yields only blood. According to some, the witch need not even actually touch or see the cow she wishes to charm; she has only to think of a particular animal to receive her milk, which in such a case flows from a door post, table, bench, or other object in the house.[26] Hence a witch does not actually have to possess a cow in order to have milk. "Marusia of Ispas never had a cow, but nevertheless always enjoyed an abundant supply of milk, and even had enough to sell; this astounded the people greatly until Petro Hyrak once came to her and found her milking a board."[27]

Although hated and despised, a witch must never be openly insulted or mistreated. In mentioning a witch, one should always append a curse, such as: "May she disappear"; "May the Devil stand between her eyes and the bear between her shoulders."[28]

The wizard (*opyr*), although as harmful as his female counterpart, is considered lower in rank and is, in general, less frequently encountered.[29] He is even forced to serve the witch, e.g. as the steed on which she rides to her meetings, but he has the power to counteract any harm she may intend to do him.

[24] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 232-3.

[25] Kaindl, R. F. "Wetterzauberei bei den Rutenen und Huzulen," *Mittheilungen der k.k. geogr. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xxxvii, 637.

[26] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 254.

[27] Kolberg, O. *Przemyskie* (Kraków, 1891), p. 128.

[28] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 231.

[29] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 109.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

754 The *opyr* is born, not made. He, too, has a tail, and his sex organs differ from those of a normal man, for which reason he is infertile and childless.[30] Some hold that he changes his sex every month.[31] A *misiecznyk*, as such a person is called, can be identified much more easily than the witch by his unusually rosy cheeks (*wse w lycy czerwonyj*).[32] Wizards, too, have their individual specialities, and they are especially careful not to encroach upon the spheres of activity of the witches. There are, for example, wizards of hunting, of fishing, and of horses.[33] But just as the witches are particularly interested in harming cattle and in diverting the milk of cows, so the wizards centre their chief attention on the weather. They produce torrents, droughts, hail, and snowstorms. For this purpose they gather raindrops, dew, and water from thawing snow into a vessel, and frost, snow, and storms into a bag or the skin of an animal. If a wizard lets so much as one drop of water from his vessel fall into a river, a torrent or flood follows immediately ; if he presses upon his bag, frost and snowstorm ensue. Once, it is said, the wizards kept the sun covered by clouds for seven weeks, as a result of which excessive downpours, crop failure, and famine occurred.[34]

754 789 It is obviously of great advantage to the people to detect a witch or wizard operating in their village. Although they can do so at almost any time, there is no more opportune occasion than the eve of a high holiday. Thus in order to determine whether a suspected woman is really a witch, one method is to steal three chips of wood before sunrise on nine consecutive days. When a fire is built with the chips, the woman, if she be really a witch, will not fail to come to the house to borrow something ; however she may beg and entreat then, she should never be believed, because only thus does she lose her power to bring harm upon the house.[35]

[30] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 110-13.
[31] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 230.
[32] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 113.
[33] *Ibid.*, p. 119.
[34] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 230.
[35] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxi, 281.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

Part II

The White Art: Counteracting Means

The Ukrainian peasant believes that all calamities can be avoided or removed by conjuration, by the use of mysterious concoctions, or by other magical means. Counteracting the work of the Devil and his associates and inducing good luck are the special business of the professional soothsayer or conjuror, but even the ordinary person with no pretensions to extraordinary power can do much in this direction. Without employing the services of a professional conjuror he can, for instance, ward off evil from his cattle, assure himself of good luck in an enterprise, bring harm to his enemies, force a favourable turn in his love affair, foretell the future, and even banish an impending storm from his fields.

Thus in order to protect their cattle from harm, or to alleviate damage already done, on the eve of St. George people fasten brooms on long poles (*wichy*) to their gates as a notification to witches to leave the farmstead undisturbed.[36] The first milk from a cow that has calved is salted and poured into her drinking water. Old horseshoes are scattered around the yard, since it is thought that cattle stepping over them cannot be bewitched. To remove the spell on a cow, she is given a drink of holy water mixed with petals from a consecrated Palm Sunday branch; to make this potion even more effective some sulphur is added. If a cow has been taken sick and the owner does not know the reason thereof, the best thing to do is to "extinguish some coals." The peasant, or the soothsayer in his stead, throws glowing coals into a bucket of water; if they sink, the cow is bewitched. To bring her back to health it is only necessary to spill the water upon a black dog; the malady then passes to the dog, and the cow recovers. So greatly does the peasant fear possible harm to his cattle, that he often refrains from even the seemingly most innocent expressions. Instead of saying, for example, "The milk is boiling," he says "The milk is warming up."[37]

[36] Kolberg, O. *Pokucie, Obraz Etnograficzny* (Kraków, 1882-89, 4 vols.), iii, 124.

[37] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Huzulen," *Globus*, lxxvi, 234-255.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

789 777 The most effective way of assuring oneself of good luck and prosperity is to ally oneself in some way with the Devil. The usual method is to sell him one's soul. A person wishing to do this draws up a formal contract, written with blood drawn from his little finger, whereby Satan is obligated to serve him throughout his life but in return gains possession of his soul after death.[38] One who has entered into such a pact with the Devil can share his benefits with another by selling the latter a lesser devil, who will bring him luck in all his undertakings.[39] A person cannot only buy a devil but also make one for himself. To do so he secures a partly developed egg from the body of a dissected hen and keeps it under his arm for nine consecutive days, even when walking and sleeping, taking care the while not to wash himself or comb his hair and, above all, not to pray. If he observes these rules there will hatch out of the egg a little devil, called *chowanec* (the nurtured), who too will serve him only on condition that he promise him his soul after death.[40] Another way of enlisting the services of the Devil is to stand at a crossways after midnight and call him thrice by name, whereupon Satan appears in person and gives the suppliant a coin (*inkluz*) which always brings him good luck.[41]

Any person, it is believed, can attain to supernatural or extraordinary powers if only he has a strong will, determination and courage, and can hold a secret. Thus one can gain control over hail by stealing a piece of wood from the church and having the priest (unwittingly, of course) read twelve masses over it.[42] A thief, to avoid detection, uses a curious amulet consisting of a human shin-bone emptied of its marrow and filled with candle wax. If he walks three times around a house with such a candle, all its occupants sink into a death-like slumber, and he can steal whatever he pleases with no danger of being caught.[43]

Mastery in any of the arts is attainable only with the help of

[38] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 86. [39] *Ibid.*, p. 86. [40] *Ibid.*, pp. 86-7.

[41] Hnatiuk, V. "Znadoby do halicko-ruskoi demonologii," *Etnograficznyj Zbirnyk* (Lviw, 1904), xv, 255.

[42] Szuchiewicz, W. *Huculszczyzna*, (Lwów 1902-8, 4 vols.), i, 54.

[43] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Rutenen in der Bukowina und Galizien," *Globus*, lxi, 282.

the Devil. A person desirous of becoming a master builder must 789
rise early on Easter morn, stand on the threshold of his house 777
with an axe in his hand, imitate the motions of one building a house, and say to himself: "I am not greeting the resurrection of Christ but am chopping with my axe." "The priest announces that Christ has arisen, but I say that the foundation beams are laid for a house." He then goes to church, and, when the priest announces "Christ has arisen!" he says: "I am laying the foundation of a house. As great as is this day, so great a master may I be!" With these words he assigns himself to the Devil, who helps him thenceforth to become a real master in his vocation.[44] One who wishes to excel at playing the flute can do so only with similar aid.

Such a person must pay for the instrument as much as is demanded, and, having bought it, carry it home so that no one may see it and bewitch it. Upon arriving home he must dress himself in clothes turned inside out, and then pour brandy or goat's milk into the flute. After closing the instrument tightly, he must carry it to the boundary of two villages, and there bury it where three roads meet. Returning home he must hide himself, so that no one sees him for nine days, during which period he must neither wash, comb, nor pray, but constantly think of the flute, and move his fingers up and down as if playing on it. On the ninth day he goes to get back his flute. Devils await him, playing on flutes and dancing, and the heavenly judges stand to one side and weep. An angel then sits on his right shoulder and a devil on his left; both whisper into his ear until he is forced to follow one of them. When the devils have finally conquered him, they hand him back his flute, upon the condition that his soul belongs to them. After he has emptied the flute of the brandy and washed himself with it, the devils take him with them to instruct him, and keep him until the cock crows, whereupon he becomes a master.[45]

It is within the power of almost any individual to harm his 789
enemies by certain well tested means, almost all of which bear the character of either exuvial or imitative magic. To cause

[44] Szuchiewicz, *Huculszczyzna*, iv, 293. [45] *Idem.*

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

789 the death of his neighbour, a person takes water in which a still-born child has been bathed, pours it into a pot, and, after keeping it for nine days, spills it in front of the neighbour's house; whoever first steps on the unclean place will become crippled and die.[46] One who envies another his good fortune, and wishes to see him unlucky, secretly cuts off a few hairs from his head and mixes them with the excrement of a dog; the victim will thenceforth go "the dog's ways," i.e. fail in everything he undertakes.[47] To bring incessant strife upon a household, one does as follows. Observing a fight among dogs, he disperses them, gathers some of the dust raised in the combat, throws it upon glowing coals, and keeps this mixture for a day and a night; if he scatters this around the enemy's house on the following night before sunrise, there will arise among its occupants a struggle like that witnessed among the dogs.[48]

789 832 There are many ways by which a girl may arouse the love of a young man, and have him eventually marry her. One of them is to throw a little salt on him when he leaves the house, in the conviction that he will run after her as a sheep does after salt.[49] Another means is the following. When the young man has left the house, the girl gathers "his footsteps," i.e. the dust from his foot-prints, and puts the dust on the hinges of the door, believing that he will turn toward her as the door does upon its hinges.[50] A still more effective way of inducing a man to marry a girl, namely, by using part of his clothing, is illustrated by the following case.

> Ivan Gajaniuk, a widower, had a maid who was very much in love with him and desired to marry him. With this purpose in mind she went on Pelyp (fasting period) to a famous sorceress known for her wisdom and skill in "bettering" (*lipszyty*). The old woman, upon hearing her wish, told her to come again and bring with her the man's drawers. The maid returned with a pair of underwear, but it belonged to a boy in her master's service. Thus it happened that the boy, and not the master, shortly afterwards married the girl.[51]

[46] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 134. [47] *Ibid.*, p. 135. [48] *Ibid.*, p. 139.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 141. [50] *Ibid.*, p. 141. [51] *Ibid.*, p. 140.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

An excellent illustration of the power ascribed to exuviae is the use of sweat to arouse love. Thus a sorceress sometimes mixes a little perspiration from the sole of a girl's foot with some soot from the chimney, and pronounces a formula over the mixture; if the girl pours this concoction into a drink given to a boy, he will surely fall in love with her and soon marry her.[52]

When a person faces a serious situation and wants to be sure that the means employed are effective, he resorts, as in some of the above-cited cases, to a professional sorcerer (*czariwnyk*) or soothsayer (*prymiwnyk*) for assistance. Of these practitioners, mostly women, the most proficient are thought to be the Gypsies,[53] and especially the offspring of a Gypsy and a Ukrainian peasant.[54] A sorcerer or sorceress is never born but made. A woman who wants to become a sorceress must fast for nine consecutive days, abstain from ablutions and prayer, indeed, renounce completely her belief in Christ, and carry an undeveloped egg under her left armpit throughout the period. She must not, moreover, reveal the secret of her power, lest she lose her skill. On her dying bed, however, she should tell everything to another woman, in order to avoid the suffering of a lingering death which would otherwise be her fate.[55]

The sorcerer or soothsayer foretells future happenings by reading the lines of the palm, by extinguishing coals in the manner already mentioned, and by pouring wax upon water and observing the different shapes it takes.[56] To put an end to malicious gossip,

> a soothsayer is called in, and a lock is handed her. She washes the lock in water, brought by the master of the house, walking backward all the way, from an abundant well, and then closes it in order to put an end to the gossip. In case the latter is very menacing, two locks may be washed and shut. Having closed the locks, the soothsayer sweeps all the dirt and dust of the room into the water, and has the inhabitants of the house take off all their clothes and wash themselves with it. Finally she washes the windows too, and then

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 139.
[53] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, iv, 291.
[54] Kolberg, O. *Przemyskie* (Kraków, 1891), p. 236.
[55] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, iv, 291.
[56] *Idem.*

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

787
756
791 pours the water with all its dirt (the gossip) out through the window.[57]

789 While the female soothsayer occupies herself mainly with
[759 prophesying the future, making love magic, and the like, her counterpart specializes in weather control—in banning hail, thunder, snowstorms, and torrents, and in bringing the rains needed to relieve drought. Even in such cases, however, the ordinary man is far from helpless. Armed with formulas and more concrete means, he can avert a calamity even without the aid of a weather expert. It will be convenient, therefore, to examine the weather lore of the people before turning to a consideration of the professional.

789 The layman, first of all, is much given to predicting the weather,
787 which he undertakes with the greatest of confidence, especially at Easter. On this day he forecasts atmospheric changes throughout the year, and these prophecies are not mere pastimes, but are believed in to the extent of letting them determine important economic activities.[58] Work and cattle trading, for example, are done in accordance with these predictions. If it rains on Easter Day, the whole summer will be wet; fair weather foretells a dry summer, and unsettled weather means that in general a good summer is at hand. Aside from these general prophecies the people indulge in more minute predictions on the same day. If fair weather prevails from 1 to 3 a.m., an early and fair spring may be expected, and the price of hay will rise and that of cattle will fall. If the weather is pleasant from early in the morning until noon, then the approaching spring will be fair and the harvest good; if, however, the morning is fair at first but the sky later becomes overcast, the spring will indeed be pleasant, but the time of the maize and potato harvest will be characterized by inclement weather. Further detailed predictions are made from the kind of weather prevailing during the evening and on the following night, and the work in the fields and pastures is planned in accordance therewith.[59]

789 The layman can also, as already intimated, do much to avert hail or relieve drought without calling upon the aid of the weather

[57] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 276. [58] Szuchiewicz, *op. cit.*, iii, 8.
[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

789

expert. The simplest means is to toss holy water from an elevated place towards a threatening hail cloud. Another way of averting hail or an approaching storm is to light candles consecrated at Epiphany, or to put an oven spatula and a broom crosswise in front of the door. A further effective way of preventing hail is to take a piece of black cloth which has been used to wrap the feet, light it, and throw it half burned into the open. If this does not help, then the straw upon which someone has died is used instead. The most universal means, however, is the ringing of church bells, specially consecrated for the purpose, for as long as the danger lasts. Individual fields can be insured against hail throughout the year by burying consecrated Easter bread in the corners of the field.[60] An effective annual " insurance policy " can be taken out on Christmas Eve. Among the mountaineers it is the women who are entrusted with this task. After having fasted all day long, they repair with the approach of evening to their gardens and fields. There they walk around with their apron-dresses over their heads uttering their conjuration formulas. Upon their return home they immediately set the table, and, putting upon it their best food, they ask the Hail to enter as a guest, entreating him not to bother them during the year.[61]

The people also know of many ways to bring rain when it is badly needed. The means, once more, range from the simplest to the most complex and elaborate practices. Rain can sometimes be induced by merely plucking some grass with the hand, by overthrowing a cross in the graveyard, or by throwing a poppy-head into a well. Another method is for the woman to refrain from washing clothes in the river, waiting stubbornly for rain. Still another is to kill a rooster on the bank of a river and then throw its blood and head into the water.[62] A curious means for breaking a long drought employed by people of certain villages towards the end of the last century is recorded by Kolberg.[63]

[13]

[60] Kaindl, R. F. " Wetterzauberei bei den Rutenen und Huzulen," *Mitt. der k.k. geogr. Gesellsch. in Wien*, xxxvii, 625, 628.

[61] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 253.

[62] Kaindl, in *Mitt. k.k. geogr. Gesellsch.*, xxxvii, 639.

[63] *Pokucie*, iii, 122-3.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

789 The village elder, with the aid of his assistants, calls together all the women, old and young, usually on a Sunday, at a certain place, whence they are taken to the nearest lake or river and made to bathe. This is supposed to cause immediate rain. The group of women thus assembled enter the water willingly, or, if they resist, are thrown in by force. There they must stand in their shirts, with the water up to their waists, for a full quarter of an hour. This act is called *baby splawyty* (bathing the women). If it is noticed that any of the women are absent, a trustworthy peasant is sent to the house of the disobedient one to find out the reason for her absence. The only excuses acceptable in this case are absence from the village and serious illness. In the latter case, however, the woman is at least made to urinate and the urine is immediately spilled on the field.

The urine of women, as a matter of fact, is generally held to possess the power of causing rain.

756 789 In order to avert effectively a dangerous hailstorm or an approaching cloudburst, or to end a long-standing drought, it is necessary to secure the services of a professional weather expert. One or more of these men are to be found in practically every village, but not all are considered equally skilful. Those with the greatest repute come from among the mountaineers. Although women are not unknown as weather conjurors, those who excel at the art are usually men. A weather-man of reputation is much sought after and looked up to. His services are in demand over wide territories, and he is well paid and often comparatively wealthy. Travelling from place to place in response to calls, he frequently returns home in the fall with wagons laden with grain obtained for his services.[64]

The weather expert, though versed in all kinds of atmospheric problems, specializes at times in one field, or is at least considered by the people to excel in dealing with one particular kind of phenomenon. The two commonest specialists are the *hradiwnyk* (hail-man) and the *chmarnyk* (rain-man). They are able not only to prevent storms and bring rain but also, if asked,

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

to divert the hail or cloudburst to an enemy's field.[65] For this reason they are sometimes looked upon as malevolent persons in league with an evil spirit.[66]

The *hradiwnyk* or *chmarnyk* may control the weather either in the individual case or for the entire year. His methods differ widely, ranging from the utterance of simple formulas to the institution of elaborate ceremonies involving mysterious instruments. Naturally, the more elaborate the means, the more effective the results are believed to be. To avert a hail or a cloudburst the weather expert must have a special wand, called *koszturnik*. This implement is usually fashioned from a limb broken off from a knobby bladder-knot tree, and it acquires its magical potency by being used to separate a frog and a snake engaged in a life and death struggle. Such struggles often occur in the mountainous region in the spring, and are so fierce that the combatants foam at the mouth. Touching the foam endows the wand with mysterious power. Other instruments widely used by weather-men include the scythe, the hatchet, and sharp tools in general.[67]

Conjuration in the individual case, i.e. whenever a storm approaches, is performed in the following manner. As soon as a hailstorm is in evidence, the *hradiwnyk* repairs to the field, where he either undresses completely or else retains only his shirt. He then takes his hat in one hand and a scythe in the other, and utters his formulas, which are intended to divert the hail to a road, a river, a forest, or the field of an enemy.[68] A wand of the type described above, if the weather-man has one, is, of course, more effective than a scythe. Should such a conjuration prove ineffective, the *hradiwnyk* simply presents his hind part to the hail—a last resort which is considered infallible.[69] An approaching torrent or cloudburst, too, is prevented by simple means. As soon as a heavy cloud appears, the *chmarnyk* runs outdoors and diverts the storm in any desired direction by merely pointing with his wand.[70]

[65] Kaindl, in *Mitt. k.k. geogr. Gesellsch.*, xxxvii, 626.

[66] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 121. [67] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 252, 253.

[68] Kaindl, in *Mitt. k.k. georg. Gesellsch.*, xxxvii, 626. [69] *Idem.*

[70] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 253.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

To banish hail throughout the year the *hradiwnyk* must act on Christmas Eve. He must neither eat nor drink throughout the day, nor must he spit or talk to anyone. Late at night he undresses completely and betakes himself naked to the field. Here he draws various circles with his magic wand and by uttering his formulas, tries to get the hail to appear before him. The hail, naturally enough, does not appear, and this evokes from the conjuror the following address: "As you are not heeding my call now, so may you remain far from us throughout the year!" With this the conjuration for the whole year is accomplished.[71]

How does the weather-man avoid blame for his false predictions and ineffective conjurations, which are necessarily very numerous, and how does he manage to hold the confidence of the people? The answer is obvious: he employs the familiar excuses used by shamans everywhere. After performing his act he asserts that the cloud must disappear and that there will be no hail whatever, or, if for some reason the cloud cannot be dispersed, that he is driving it away to deserted places so that it will hail only there. If, however, his art fails, and someone complains to this effect, then he says that he was unable to do anything because he noticed the impending cloud too late, i.e. when it was over and had already left the limits of his sphere of influence, for, if this occurs, there is nothing one can do to ward off hail in that region.[72] Another stock excuse is that "the weather-man of a neighbouring village, may God punish him, has diverted the hail to our village out of revenge." The people believe this, and so does the conjuror himself.[73]

Mention should be made in this connection of the current belief that natural phenomena have a definite influence upon human health. In some localities, when the people hear thunder for the first time in the spring, they throw themselves on the ground and roll around, even though they may be engaged at the time in important work and the earth be muddy. This behaviour is thought to prevent all sorts of aches and especially stomach disorders.[74] In other places, on similar occasions, the

[71] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 253. [72] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 123.
[73] Szuchiewicz, W. *op. cit.*, i, 55. [74] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 234.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

people seize stones and with them beat their foreheads three times, saying: "Stone-head, stone-head, stone-head." This is supposed to make the head as hard as stone, i.e. immune to any ache.[75]

The evil spirits residing in natural phenomena can be a source of danger unless one takes the necessary precautions. When it thunders and lightens, one should avoid walking along the road, and should sit down somewhere at the side, because God is shooting at the fleeing Devil and his arrows may accidentally kill the wayfarer.[76] One should do the same in the case of a dust storm, for its indwelling Devil is likely to harm a Christian.[77] One can lessen the severity of a blizzard (*metylycia*), and cause it to subside, by throwing sharp edged sticks at the driving snow. Falling hail can also be rendered harmless by catching the first hailstones, chewing them, and spitting them on the ground; "the horns of the evil spirit are then chewed off," and the hail loses its harmfulness in that locality.[78]

Part III

Healing by Magic

Disease, like other calamities, is attributed by the people to evil spirits. It is the incessant activities of a multitude of supernatural beings, the people believe, that cause the many afflictions that befall the human body and soul.[79] Epidemic and fatal diseases are personified as supernatural women. The female personification of the plague, according to a popular story, once made a young peasant carry her on his shoulders. Wherever he went people began to die by the thousands. Finally he attempted to get rid of his dread burden by throwing himself into a river. It was he alone, however, who drowned; the plague, being light

[75] Kolessa, F. "Ludowy wiruwania na pidhirju," *Etnograficznyj Zbirnyk* (Lviw, 1898), v, 77.

[76] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 91.

[77] Kolessa, F. *op cit.*, v, 76.

[78] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 234.

[79] Kolberg, O. *Pokucie, Obraz Etnograficzny* (Kraków, 1882-89, 4 vols.), 160.

753 as a feather, escaped. She was so frightened, nevertheless, that she fled to the forest and forsook her activities, so that the epidemic ceased.[80]

755 One way of avoiding death or serious harm is to propitiate the
782 spirits through vows.

It happens often that a sick person makes a vow (*zarikajet sie*), i.e. a promise, that if he regains his health, he will forego certain pleasures in life, or abstain from some pleasant task. A certain woman, for example, accidentally drove a needle into the palm of her hands, and when the physician, after chloroforming her, removed the needle, the convalescent pledged herself never again to sew embroidered shoulder-pieces on to a shirt of hers. This promise she kept religiously, sewing only on shirts belonging to others. Another woman, in order to rid herself of a headache, promised that she would not spin on Fridays; when relieved, she occupied herself every Friday with a different task in order to avoid spinning. A peasant in order to preserve his cattle during an epidemic that had broken out, solemnly vowed to give up drinking liquor for half a year, and when his cattle were saved he kept his word.[81]

755 Believing in the supernatural causation of disease, the people have little faith in scientific medical treatment, if they do not ignore it altogether. Poverty, though doubtless a factor, is far less important than the conviction, fully compatible with the prevailing conception of disease, that the native medicine-men and their remedies are more reliable than physicians and their medications. That the question of money is not decisive can be seen from the fact that quack doctors often receive larger fees than trained physicians. Even when given free treatment and medicine, an individual often puts aside the medicament and then boasts that he has gotten well because he has not used it.[82] While he places full confidence in his own remedies,

[113]

[80] Woycicki, K. W. *Polnische Volkssagen und Maerchen* (Berlin, 1839), pp. 23-4.

[81] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 160.

[82] Kaindl, R. F. *Die Huzulen* (Wien, 1894), p. 93.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

sanctioned by the tradition of generations, he looks upon all medicines prescribed by a physician with a certain suspicion.[83]

Popular remedies fall roughly into three categories: (1) amulets and other prophylactic and precautionary means, (2) incantations, and (3) concoctions, compounded of strange and varied elements from the animal, plant, and mineral worlds. Only in serious, persistent, or complicated cases, or in those ascribed to the direct influence of spirits, e.g. snake-bite, fright,[84] partial paralysis, and stomach disorders,[85] does the peasant consult a professional healer, man or woman: otherwise he uses the standard remedies passed on from generation to generation. Many of the treatments hereinafter to be described, therefore, are often undertaken without the help of a healer.[86]

The healer, who is called *znachor* (fem. *znachorka*) from *znaty* (to know), is not a wizard, nor is he in league with any of the forces of evil. His sole power and function is to combat or counteract ailments by performing conjurations and compounding remedies; he thus plays the role of physician. He is, to be sure, endowed with supernatural powers—he is even referred to as the "earthly god"—but he gets these from God himself.[87] As a matter of fact, the priest and his assistant, it is thought, can sometimes counteract the work of the Devil by ridding a person of his malady. Thus in some sections of the mountains the people commonly seek the aid of the sexton in case of illness. This official inserts a knife between the pages of the church prayer book as many times as are necessary to find the alleged "right place," charging the patient a certain fee for each insertion. He then reads from the book, as if they were written there, the causes and cure of the disease. This practice is said to be slowly becoming obsolete, but it is still not unusual for priests to undertake to cure people by special Masses and prayers and by consecration with holy water.[88]

[83] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 160. [84] *Ibid.*, pp. 167-69.

[85] Kolberg, O. *Przemyshie* (Kraków, 1891), p. 239. [86] *Idem.*

[87] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 161; Szuchiewicz, W. *Huculszczyzna* (Lwów, 1902-08, 4 vols.) iv, 297, 312.

[88] Kaindl, R. F. "Aus der Volksueberlieferung der Bojken," *Globus*, lxxix, 152.

755 Although the *znachor*, especially one of reputation, can diagnose and treat any disease, he often specializes in particular ailments, e.g. fevers, paralysis, headaches, or snake-bite. He keeps his formulas and concoctions strictly secret, for a knowledge of them by others would impair if not invalidate his powers.[89] The formulas and recipes are much more numerous and varied than the ailments themselves; for curing fever, for instance, there are not less than seventy-seven remedies, corresponding to seventy-seven causes, i.e. spirits.[90] They range from the simplest prescriptions, e.g. to drink water drawn from a well before sunrise, to the most complicated compounds of herbs, animal and human exuviae and excrements, insects, dirt, etc., accompanied by elaborate verbal formulas and grotesque performances. While certain remedies are the private property of an individual healer and are only effective when performed or suggested by him, others are common knowledge and freely used by the people.

[754] The *znachor* or *znachorka*, is also an expert in inducing love, causing barren women to conceive, foretelling future events, and even settling difficult family problems.[91] Healers of reputation, like expert weather-men, are comparatively few in number—very often only one in a considerable territory—and are widely sought after. People often travel many miles to consult a master healer, and pay large fees for his services.[92]

The *znachor* ascribes his power to his special endowment from God, and his knowledge of the medicinal properties of different ingredients to a secret source which he cannot divulge. Every healer has his own fast-day, when he communes with God.[93] He knows which wells have water containing therapeutic qualities and what herbs are good for particular diseases. He gathers the herbs at certain seasons of the year and at prescribed hours during the day, and keeps them in readiness at his home. It is noteworthy that this mysterious art of healing, being the pro-

[89] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 161.

[90] *Ibid.*, p. 170.

[113] [91] Kaindl, R. F. "Zauberglaube bei den Huzulen," *Globus*, lxxvi, 233.

[92] *Ibid.* p. 277; Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 161.

[93] Szuchiewicz, W. *op. cit.*, iv, 297.

* [healer -- analyst]

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

755

perty of an individual, can be stolen.[94] Usually, however, it is transmitted from father to son.[95]

That the people, at least those seeking his advice, consider the *znachor* as endowed with unusual powers is obvious. But how does he regard himself? Does he really believe in his art, or does he merely take advantage of the ignorance of the people? There is no doubt that many actually believe in their extraordinary powers and in the effectiveness of their remedies.[96] On the other hand, however, there are those who admit, when pressed hard, that they sometimes delude and even mislead their patients,[97] while others claim—only before intelligent people, of course—that their conjurations really consist largely of Christian prayers, which cannot, at the worst, do any harm to the patient.[98]

The excuse for an obvious failure is the usual one of the shaman, or, for that matter, of quacks all over the world, namely, that the patient did not follow the directions strictly. This the healer usually finds very easy, since he often requires impossible tasks of his patients. He claims, for example, that the recommended water was not drawn from the well in the specified hour or manner, or that the coals over which he pronounced his conjuration were not taken from a "living" fire.[99] In one case two Jewish girls, who had come from afar to a famous *znachor* for a love potion, were sent all the way back on foot to fetch new containers, since those they had brought with them had been used and the potion poured into them would thus have had no effect.[100]

In mild cases and in those of chronic or general ill health, the healer, as a rule, merely offers advice. He tells the patient that his affliction is caused perhaps by the fact that he has built his house on the head of a demon, or that he has unwittingly dug up the root of a lilac bush, or that he has started some task at

[94] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 161.

[95] Kaindl, R. F. "Neue Beitraege zur Ethnologie und Volkskunde der Huzulen," *Globus*, lxix, 74.

[96] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 217.

[97] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxix, p. 74.

[98] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 161.

[99] Szuchiewicz, W. *op. cit.*, iv, 313.

[100] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxix, 74.

[113]

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

755 an ill-fated hour. His advice may be to move out of the house, destroy it, and build another on the opposite side of the road. After entreaties that this is a most difficult and costly procedure, the *znachor* usually concedes that the transfer of the patient's bed to the orchard, or even to the other side of the room, may suffice to relieve the trouble.[101] Another example of the type of advice offered for a persistent and undefined ailment is the following:

> Go before daybreak to a certain spot across the boundary of the third village, and there you will find a little well; draw some water from it, but before sunrise, take a drink and bathe your eyes, but see to it that no woman meets you, and you will become well in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.[102]

If the Devil, as sometimes happens, has his lodgings in a peasant's house or adjoining barn, some direct means of driving him out must be undertaken. The *znachor*, when called in, sprinkles the house with holy water, drives the cattle into the yard, and, with a whip in his hand, runs into the barn where the Devil is supposed to reside, since some of the cattle are sick. Lashing right and left with the whip at the walls and corners, while the people of the house assist him with sticks and brooms, he finally succeeds in expelling the evil spirit. He then sprinkles the barn with holy water and advises the people to stuff up every crack tightly, because the evil spirit may assume the form of an insect, a worm, or the like and re-enter the barn through the tiniest opening.[103]

For easily diagnosed ailments the medicine-man employs special incantations, usually in conjunction with a more concrete remedy. He need not even visit the sick room, provided he has part of the patient's clothing or a bit of his exuviae over which he can utter his formula.[104] In any case, it is absolutely necessary to have some object, often a stick, a rope, a knife, a coal, or a piece of wax, over which to perform his incantation. To relieve

[101] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 237; Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxix, 152.

[102] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 237. [103] *Ibid.*, p. 239.

[104] *Ibid.*, p. 237.

indigestion or an acute pain in the stomach, for example, the 755
znachor

> takes a rope and continually mumbles something while making various knots in it. He then hangs the rope, like a bag, around the shoulders of the patient. The formula itself is a secret; we have been told, however, that it is supposed to consist of the enumeration or rehearsing of all the tasks performed in connection with flax from the moment when its seeds are threshed out to the moment when the fabric is completed.[105]

Before undertaking to treat paralysis with herbs, the *znachor* takes a knife, grasps it by the cutting edge, makes the sign of the cross three times over the patient, and utters the following incantation:

> In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, oh, painful pain, malicious and cunning enemy, leave, depart from the born and baptized servant of God. Betake yourself to the crossways, to the swamps, where God's creatures do not go, where squirrels do not peer in, where geese do not hiss, and cocks do not crow. There you shall fly around, there you shall sit, there you shall return, there you shall have something to do in this world.[106]

The people themselves, of course, also employ incantations, and nearly every household has at least one member who knows how to conjure away the common ailments.

Foremost among the ills susceptible to cure by means of incan- 753
tations is the "evil eye" (*wroki*). So widespread and so generally feared is this form of bewitching that the people seem almost constantly to be taking one precaution or another against it. This vigilance becomes understandable when one realizes that any person may cause harm to another, often quite unwittingly, merely by looking at him or talking about him. Especially is this true of a person who has some uncanny quality about his eyes. Since one may possess and exert the evil eye all unknowingly, it is common, in observing or mentioning a person admiringly, to guard against injuring him by adding the phrase: "*n*

[105] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 168. [106] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, pp. 339-40.

753 *wroku* ! " (no evil eye !). Failure to take this precaution may result in harm, even though there is not the slightest intention of so doing.[107]

An individual affected by the " evil eye " first loses suddenly his good humour and complacency, and then becomes sick. The result may even be fatal, particularly if he falls asleep before ridding himself of the evil wrought upon him.[108] All successful, good looking, or otherwise fortunately endowed persons or animals are susceptible to the evil eye. Children, in particular, fall
755 an easy prey, for they have no power to resist. To render her child immune from the effects of a harmful glance which may possibly have been cast upon it during the day, a mother never fails to exorcise the evil before putting her child to sleep. This she does by sucking it out of the forehead of the child and spitting it out into the four corners of the room, signifying the four cardinal directions, so that the evil glance, from whatever direction it may have come, shall disappear whence it came. As she does so, she says : " *Chto ti wrik, naj ti wzme* ! " (Whoever sent you take you back !) A similar precaution is followed many times during the day, if the child feels indisposed.[109]

Adults are cured of the evil eye by a multitude of elaborate methods, including that of " extinguishing coals," already mentioned, and others too numerous to specify. The cure is usually undertaken by an otherwise ordinary person, even a member of the family, who is acquainted with a formula effective against the evil eye. Like the weather-man and healer, such an individual never reveals the secret of his art, for if he did, his charms would lose their effect and he himself might even suffer harm.[110]

751 Persons repeatedly subject to the effects of the evil eye are advised to carry constantly with them a piece of laudanum over which a soothsayer has uttered a special conjuration. Other protective devices, also useful for warding off other evil influences, include the *klokiczka*, a piece of wood consecrated together with Easter bread and carried on a string around the neck, a little mercury inserted in a wooden cross, brass rings and crosses, strings of hair or gut, old coins, certain dried herbs, and other

[107] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 132. [108] *Idem.*

[109] *Idem.* [110] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

amulets.[111] If a person takes the precaution of muttering under his breath the following formula: "Cover those eyes as the drawers cover the buttocks!" a suspected evil glance will have no effect.[112] 751

To protect a domestic animal from the consequences of the evil eye, a piece of leather from an old shoe is tied to a ribbon and hung about its neck. Sometimes a strip torn off an old pair of drawers is used instead. Crops are saved from harm by planting sticks in different parts of the field or garden and tying to them a few rags, a torn hat, a broken pot, or the like.[113] A person with the evil eye can injure a cow, even without actually seeing it, if he casts a glance at its milk. Hence the precaution is taken, when a customer comes to buy milk, of not letting him into the cellar or other place where it is kept.[114]

Various methods of misleading the spirit responsible for the disease, or of frightening it away, are believed to be effective. Thus to cure a child of a persistent ailment, for example, its mother is often advised to "sell" it. This she does by giving the child to another woman, who carries it out of the house and then goes to a window and says: "With the child I have greeted the sun, the corners of the house, and all the saints: now I greet the mother and beg her to repurchase the child." The woman then brings the infant into the house, where the drinking ceremony (*mohorycz*) which customarily accompanies a sale, takes place. Sometimes a change in name suffices to bring the child back to health. A witch ordinarily uses the name given at baptism; consequently a child whose name has been changed will not heed her call.[115] To cure a fever, cold water is suddenly poured over the head of the patient while he is asleep; this frightens the fever demon and causes it to run away.[116] Fever may also be shamed into leaving the body. The patient goes into a toilet and sleeps there until his chills pass. The fever, offended, then leaves the body.[117] 755

Exuvial magic is sometimes employed to work cures. A per-

[111] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 93.
[112] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 133.
[113] *Ibid.*, p. 134.
[114] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 233.
[115] Kaindl, in *Globus*, lxxvi, 256.
[116] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 173.
[117] *Ibid.*, pp. 173-74.

755 son suffering from fever, for example, pares the nails of his fingers and toes, and cuts a little hair from the four corners of his head; he then inserts the clippings in the stem of a rotten tree, closes the hole tightly, and runs home as fast as he can, saying: "May you not return until I myself shall come back for you!"[118] Mention might be made here of the belief that hair from one's head should not be thrown on the dung pile, for if a bird should appropriate it in building its nest the person would lose his hair. On the other hand, one can make his hair grow long and thick by throwing a few locks into fire or water.[119]

Human and animal exuviae are also believed to possess valuable curative qualities. Human nails and hair, the bones of meat consecrated on Easter, skin from the head of a dog, the hoof of a horse, and the excrements of domestic animals and fowl all serve as ingredients in the concoctions prepared for different ailments.[120] A cure for a cataract is compounded of the white of an egg, flour, and the dried and pulverized excreta of a child.[121] The excrement of a black cow is one of the ingredients in a remedy for a toothache; pieces of a horse's hoof are used in a fever cure; and the fat of a black cat or a stork forms a necessary element in a concoction to relieve rheumatism.[122] Pain in the eyes is soothed by an application of woman's milk.[123] Warts are removed by wetting them with the foam from a horse's urine. Human urine is considered an emetic and is used as an antidote for alcohol poisoning.[124]

825 754 Among living things, the frog plays the most important role in native medicine. A frog is thought to be endowed with extraordinary powers, which can be used either for good or for evil. A witch, for example, often makes use of a frog, sending it to the house of her enemy to bring affliction upon it. A frog must not be killed; if suspected as the agent of witchcraft, it may only be wrapped up and hung on a beam in the house. A boy who kills a frog may 825 bring death to his father.[125] On the other hand, this amphibian 757 is considered a clean animal. If one is found in a well, for

[118] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, p. 173.
[119] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 235.
[120] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 164.
[121] *Ibid.*, p. 163.
[122] *Ibid.*, pp. 164, 167, 171.
[123] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, p. 94.
[124] *Ibid.*, p. 95.
[125] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 137, 144.

example, the water is sure to be pure. It also possesses valuable 825
therapeutic qualities and is consequently employed in treating 757
divers ailments. A cataract, for instance, is cured by applying a tiny living frog to the eye. A sufferer from fever is given brandy in which a frog has been immersed, or is made to carry a frog, wrapped in a piece of cloth, in his bosom until it dies, whereupon the fever disappears. Another fever cure consists in putting three, or sometimes nine, lice into a glass of brandy, which is then given to the unwitting patient to drink.[126]

The range of ingredients in medicinal preparations is almost 757
infinite. Some of the concoctions are harmless, and many are useless, while a considerable number are probably definitely harmful. Liquor is widely used, as though the people were really aware of the therapeutic value of alcohol. A drink or an application of brandy serves as a kind of first-aid in any emergency, and liquor in some form serves either as the base or as an essential ingredient in nearly every compound.

Thus a patient suffering from fever is given a drink of whisky containing ground garlic, or is made to eat a piece of bread wrapped in a cobweb. A swelling is treated by applying to it a hot white onion. Dysentery is cured by having the patient drink brandy to which is added some clay peeled off the oven of a room in which no death has ever occurred. Massage with the fat of a black cat is recommended for rheumatism.[127] A sufferer from diarrhœa is massaged with butter and then bathed in water in which rye straw or dumplings have been boiled.[128] A headache is relieved by pouring cold water from a well over the patient's head until the pain subsides, and a toothache by an application of alcohol, cold water, or a mixture of ground pepper and garlic. A victim of a sore throat may rid himself of the ailment by fastening thin strips of raw bacon, or the excrement of a pig, around his neck, and by gargling his throat with an infusion of laudanum. Inflammation of the lungs is cured by massaging the body with alcohol in which soap and camphor have been diluted, or by an application of leeches. An abscess is treated by applying a salve prepared either of

[126] *Ibid.*, pp. 144, 163, 171, 174. [127] *Ibid.*, pp. 166-67, 171, 174.
[128] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 239.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

757 honey mixed with wheat flour or sweet cream, or of wax and linseed oil. For constipation the patient is given a dose of pulverized glass, and for loose bowels, dried bilberries.[129] For indefinite pains or general indisposition, when other remedies have failed, recourse is had to a " cure-all " compounded from nine different grains, usually the following : hay from a meadow never cultivated, rye, wheat, buckwheat, barley, millet, oats, maize, beans, and flaxseed. The hay is boiled in three separate pots and the kernels of the other grains in a fourth. The water of all the vessels is then poured together and given to the patient to drink.[130]

Extensive use is made of fumigation, called " smoking under " (*pidkuryty*). To cure rabies, for example, a piece of skin is cut off the mad dog's head, and the patient is smoked with it. All imaginable herbs, weeds, and dried fruits are burned that their smoke may relieve the sick, especially sufferers from fever. The articles most in demand for purposes of fumigation include pages containing the Ten Commandments written in Hebrew, Jewish Passover bread (*matza*), sticks from a willow broom used for sweeping the church, a shirt in which someone has died, and the dried testicles of a horse.[131]

Blood-letting, either by direct means or by the application of leeches, and cupping are among the most popular of cure-alls. The latter, commonly called *hornec prewernuty* (to turn a pot), is performed in the following manner :

> Women take a pot that has been greased, pour a little water into it in order to form steam, heat it, and then apply its open side to the patient's abdomen, as cuppers do with their cups. The pot is so large, and adheres so fast to the body, that it can hardly be torn off ; it often happens that the cup has to be smashed before it can be removed. One can well imagine what acute pain the patient must experience during this operation, and how pronounced must be the traces left on his skin.[132]

The *hornec* (cup) is employed especially in healing hæmorrhoids

[129] Kaindl, *Die Huzulen*, pp. 94-5. [130] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 162.
[131] *Ibid.*, pp. 171-2. [132] *Ibid.*, p. 162.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

The horn(cup) is employed especially in healing hæmorrhoids
(*zolotnyk*). According to popular belief, every person, male or 757
female, has a *zolotnyk* which dwells under his navel. If he lifts 753
a heavy burden, the *zolotnyk* descends and causes hæmorrhoids. The sufferer, after he has been cupped and the painful spot has been smeared with butter, is put in a very warm spot in the room, often in the oven itself, so that he may be properly " steamed up." To effect a permanent cure, however, the *zolotnyk* must be driven back to its " natural " seat. This is usually done by a professional healer, who, with the appropriate incantations, massages the patient's stomach with butter, using only an upward motion.[133]

Syphilis is not regarded with a gravity commensurate with its seriousness, but rather as just another of the numerous maladies with which people become afflicted. Every symptom of this venereal infection is looked upon as a distinct disease having its own cause. When its effects become visible on the nose, it is considered to be a wound caused by water, and its appearance on the palate is diagnosed as due to dust. All the symptoms are treated by smoking very strong tobacco, or by applying concoctions and salves compounded of various herbs.[134] As to the origin of this disease, the people tell the following fantastic story :

> A certain emperor was in love with his daughter-in-law. St. John, of course, reproved him, and made him dance with her at the ball. As a punishment, the emperor put St. John into a dungeon. In the morning the daughter-in-law and the executioner entered the dungeon and cut off St. John's head. At that very moment all food and drink turned into blood. The daughter-in-law then put the head of St. John on a plate and, upon arriving in town, hurled it seventy-six times in the air. Whoever was sprinkled with the blood of St. John's head became afflicted with syphilis.[135]

755

Epilepsy is definitely ascribed to an evil spirit. When the [753]
czort (Devil) gets hold of a person, they say, he throws him on the ground and turns his eyes so that he does not see or hear anything.

[133] *Ibid.*, pp. 162-3. [134] Szuchiewicz, W. *op. cit.*, 57-8.

[135] *Ibid.*, i, p. 45.

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

thing. The victim may be cured by drawing blood from under the nail of his little finger, by pouring cold water over him and then rubbing his hands and head, and by bending his little finger and pressing it tightly. Above all, the stricken person must not be called by name. Epilepsy is also treated by strewing the patient with consecrated herbs cooked in holy water, by putting into his hands a candle once held by a dying person, or by fumigating him with smoke engendered by burning the hair left on a comb after it has been used to dress the hair of a corpse in preparation for a burial.[136]

The cure for tuberculosis actually prescribed by one *znachor* is hardly less fantastic: "Insert some dung under the shoe of a horse and let it remain there for nine days; when this period has elapsed, drive the horse out of the stable and let it gallop down the road; then run after it, catch the dung as it is cast off by the horse, and apply it to your limbs."[137]

Similia similibus curantur is as important a principle in peasant therapeutics as it is in other magical practices. The following remedies are based on this theory. If one gets a chill from drinking cold water, one must, in order to be cured, continue to drink cold water until one vomits. On the other hand, a person who becomes feverish on taking a bath should have a good quantity of water poured over him after he has fallen asleep. A person suffering from a sty, an eye inflammation which is called "barley" (*jiczmen*) in Ukrainian, throws a few kernels of this grain on the fire and runs away as fast as he can in order not to hear the crackling, which is supposed to betoken his cure.[138] The use of a piece of the mad dog's skin in the cure of rabies, as described above, is another illustration of the same principle.

Closely akin to the above is the sympathetic or imitative method of healing. A sufferer from a toothache, for example, upon being informed that somebody in the village has just died, goes to the house and touches first the dead man's teeth and then his own, or else takes the deceased's hand and with it touches his own teeth, saying: "May my teeth hurt as do those of the de-

[136] Szuchiewicz, W. *op. cit.*, i, p. 322. [137] Kolberg, *Przemyskie*, p. 237.
[138] Kolberg, *Pokucie*, iii, 163, 172.

† [cat. 116, p. 88 -- Analyst]

20: Koenig E-4 (no date) 1937 RD1 Ukraine RD1

ceased!" The toothache immediately disappears and never returns again.[139] One of the multitudinous remedies for fever involves a similar principle. At about 9 or 10 o'clock at night the patient goes to the grave of a recently buried person, scoops up therefrom a handful of earth, and runs home with it as fast as he can, so that, before sunrise, he can mix it with water, drink it, and thereby dispel his chills.[140]

SAMUEL KOENIG.